

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 LOME 1598

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MASS, TO
SUBJECT: MILITARY TRAINING FOR TOGO:
DETAILED JUSTIFICATION FOR TWO FY 77 SLOTS

REF: STATE 133569

1. EMBASSY PLEASED AT FORTHCOMING RESPONSE TO LOME'S 1414. WE
BELIEVE CONCEPT OF TOGO MILITARY PERSONNEL ATTENDING
INTERNATIONAL DEFENSE MANAGEMENT COURSE AT MONTERREY BEGINNING
IN SEPTEMBER FOLLOWED BY ORIENTATION TOUR IS AN OUTSTANDING
AND CREATIVE IDEA. ANSWERS TO QUESTION POSTED REFTEL, KEYED TO

RELEVANT PARAS REFTEL FOLLOW BELOW.

2. ENGLISH CAPABILITY: ADDRESSEES ARE AWARE THAT AMBASSADOR
NEEDS TO BE AUTHORIZED TO DISCUSS MILITARY TRAINING WITH
TOGOLESE AUTHORITIES BEFORE EMBASSY CAN ASCERTAIN SPECIFIC
PERSONNEL HAVING NECESSARY ENGLISH COMPETENCE. ONCE SUCH
AUTHORIZATION IS OBTAINED, PRECISE INFORMATION ON ENGLISH
CAPABILITY WILL BE PROVIDED. TWO OFFICERS WE HAVE IN MIND FOR

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THIS PROJECT HAVE VERY GOOD ENGLISH AND EXCELLENT MILITARY
CREDENTIALS; HOWEVER, PRESIDENT EYADEMA WILL SURELY HAVE HIS
OWN IDEAS ON WHOM HE WOULD LIKE TO SEND. (FYI: ARMY SOURCE HAS
INFORMED EMBASSY THAT THERE ARE FIVE OFFICERS WITH ENGLISH
CAPABILITY IN FACT:TWO LIEUTENANTS, ONE CAPTAIN, TWO MAJORS.)

3. RE OMB QUESTIONS, PARA 3 REFTEL: JUSTIFICATION FOR THE

PROGRAM IS INDEED POLITICAL AND IS SET FORTH IN PARM (LOME 0738). HOWEVER, POST APPRECIATES OPPORTUNITY TO OUTLINE BENEFITS WE CAN EXPECT FROM A PROGRAM DESIGNED TO IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND AN INCREASINGLY INFLUENTIAL SMALL THIRD WORLD STATE.

A. TOGOLESE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STABILITY: FIRST, TOGO HAS BEEN A RELATIVE ISLAND OF STABILITY AND POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE WEST AFRICAN REGION FOR MORE THAN TEN YEARS. IN THIS TIME, GOVERNMENTS HAVE COME AND GONE IN BENIN, NIGERIA, GHANA AND OTHER NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. THE STABILITY WHICH TOGO HAS ENJOYED HAS RESULTED FROM THE AUTHORITARIAN BUT GENERALLY ENLIGHTENED LEADERSHIP OF PRESIDENT EYADEMA AT THE HEAD OF THE ARMY AND GOVERNMENT. HE HAS MANAGED WITH MARKED SUCCESS TO PROFESSIONALIZE HIS DEFENSE FORCE AND TO KEEP THEM OUT OF POLITICAL LIFE WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY BUILDING UP A NATIONWIDE CIVILIAN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION. THE MILITARY REMAINS THE KEY TO THE STABILITY OF THE REGIME; MAINTAINING THAT STABILITY IN THE FUTURE, WHILE CONTINUING TO DEPEND LARGELY ON CIVILIAN MINISTERS AND ADVISORS WILL REQUIRE ALL THE POLITICAL SKILL THAT PRESIDENT EYADEMA HAS DEMONSTRATED FOR THE PAST DECADE. AT PRESENT, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, MILITARY PERSONNEL AT THE COMPANY AND FIELD GRADE LEVELS ARE VIRTUALLY UNKNOWN TO THE PUBLIC AT LARGE. CLEARLY, OPPORTUNITIES FOR OFFICERS TO BE EXPOSED TO U.S. TRAINING DIRECTLY SUPPORT U.S. POLICY BECAUSE ONE OF THESE UNKNOWN YOUNG MEN IS LIKELY TO BECOME PRESIDENT IN DUE COURSE.

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B. SOLID RELATIONS WITH MODERATE AFRICAN STATES AND FRANCE: SECOND, IT FOLLOWS FROM THE FACT OF TOGOLESE STABILITY THAT TOGO HAS A SERIES OF STABLE RELATIONS WITH MODERATE STATES WHICH IT HAS MANIPULATED TO CONSIDERABLE ADVANTAGE. AT THIS POINT IN TIME PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT TOGOLESE RELATIONSHIP IS THE ONE WITH NIGERIA. TOGOLESE-NIGERIAN COOPERATION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECOWAS (ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICA STATES) IS A KEY POLITICAL-ECONOMIC EVENT IN CONTEMPORARY WEST AFRICAN HISTORY. NIGERIA CULTIVATES TOGO ASSIDUOUSLY: IT IS PROVIDING CRUDE FOR THE TOGOLESE REFINERY AND IS REPORTEDLY PREPARED TO MAKE A MAJOR INVESTMENT IN THE GIANT PHOSPHATIC FERTILIZER PROJECT WHICH TOGO IS SEEKING TO MOUNT. THE REASON THAT NIGERIA IS INTERESTED IN TOGO IS THAT IT IS USING TOGO AS A STALKING HORSE TO INFILTRATE THE FRANCOPHONE COMMUNITY. USING TOGO, THE NIGERIANS HAVE SUCCESSFULLY BLUNTED THE INFLUENCE OF SENEGAL WHICH HAS BEEN THE LEADER OF ANTI-NIGERIA RESISTANCE WITHIN THE FRANCOPHONE COMMUNITY. IN SO DOING, THE NIGERIANS HAVE UNDERTAKEN A VERY DELICATE THREE-CORNERED OPERATION IN WHICH THEY HAVE ALSO USED THE

INFLUENCE OF HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY OF THE IVORY COAST.
HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY HAS CULTIVATED EYADEMA FOR YEARS AS THE MOST
LIKELY AND SAVVY OF THE GENERATION OF MILITARY LEADERS WHO
CAME TO POWER THROUGH COUPS IN THE ENTENTE REGION. IVORY
COAST, TOGO, UPPER VOLTA AND NIGER COOPERATE CLOSELY IN
POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY MATTERS. TOGOLESE
COOPERATION WITH ZAIRE IS WELL-KNOWN; THE PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN EYADEMA AND MOBUTU HAS ENDURED FOR YEARS. SIMILARLY,
RELATIONS BETWEEN GABON AND TOGO ARE CLOSE: AGAIN, THE
RELATIONSHIP DEPENDS ON THE PERSONAL WARMTH BETWEEN BONGO AND
EYADEMA. IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT TOGO AND FRANCE
HAVE A WARM AND IMPORTANT RELATIONSHIP. THE FRENCH HAVE
MADE IT CLEAR THAT EYADEMA IS ONE OF THEIR PROTEGES IN
AFRICA.

C. EFFECTIVE TIES WITH RADICAL STATES:
BY THE SAME TOKEN, RADICAL STATES ALSO EXPEND CONSIDERABLE
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ENERGY AND MONEY CULTIVATING TOGO'S EYADEMA. LIBYA IS
PREPARED TO SHOWER MILITARY LARGESSE ON TOGO IF THE TOGOLESE
JOIN SOME FORM OF REVOLUTIONARY STRIKE FORCE KHADAFFI IS
SEEKING TO CREATE. SEKOU TOURE'S GUINEA HAS PERHAPS AS INTIMATE
RELATIONS WITH TOGO AS ANY COUNTRY ON THE WEST COAST. THIS IS
TOURE'S WAY OF HAVING HIS CAKE AND EATING IT TOO, NAMELY, THAT
THROUGH KEEPING A GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH TOGO, GUINEA KEEPS
ONE FOOT IN ECOWAS. TOGO IS PERHAPS THE MAJOR OUTPOST OF
NORTH KOREAN ACTIVITY IN WEST AFRICA. IT IS ALSO A PLACE WHERE
THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS ARE MAKING A RELATIVELY IMPORTANT
ECONOMIC EFFORT AND WHERE THEY HAVE RECENTLY DELIVERED
MILITARY EQUIPMENT. THE SOVIETS ARE REPRESENTED IN LOME
BUT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS ARE COOL AND CORRECT.
THIS IS BECAUSE PRESIDENT EYADEMA IS DOGGEDLY OPPOSED TO THE
RUSSIANS AND THEIR EFFORTS TO CREATE ZONES OF INFLUENCE.

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D. TIME-FRAME OF A US-TOGOLESE TRAINING:

EMBASSY SYMPATHETIC TO OMB CONCERN OVER POSSIBLE PROLIFERATION SMALL TRAINING PROGRAMS. HOWEVER, IF POLITICAL JUSTIFICATION EXISTS FOR APPROVING THIS PROPOSAL FOR AN ORIENTATION TOUR AND TRAINING COURSE, IT WILL BE BASED ON WHETHER THE VISIT IS IN THE U.S. NATIONAL INTEREST AND FITS INTO THE CONTEXT OF THE GENERAL U.S. POLICY OF IMPROVING RELATIONSHIPS WITH AFRICA AND PARTICULARLY WITH POSSIBLY PIVOTAL STATES. EMBASSY'S CASE FOR MAKING AN EFFORT TO EXPAND CONTACT WITH GOT THROUGH COST-EFFECTIVE TRAINING AND TRAVEL IS THAT DESPITE ITS SIZE, TOGO APPEARS TO BE SUCH A STATE. IF THIS POSITION IS ACCEPTED, US NATIONAL INTEREST WILL DICTATE WHETHER MORE FREQUENT VISITS OR MORE EXTENSIVE TRAINING MIGHT BE ARRANGED IN THE FUTURE.

4. MILITARY TRAINING: PAST, PRESENT, PROPOSED:

A. OTHER COUNTRIES

FRENCH CURRENTLY HAVE 68 MILITARY ADVISORS IN TOGO. TOGOLESE TRAINING SPACES IN FRANCE FOR 1976 WERE 102. TOGO HAS REQUESTED 120 SPACES IN 1977-78. TOGOLESE INCLUDE FIVE PILOTS UNDERGOING JET FIGHTER TRAINING IN FRANCE; NORTH KOREANS PROVIDED FIVE-MAN TRAINING TEAM IN PAST. TWELVE TOGOLESE PILOTS WERE SENT, UNSUCCESSFULLY, TO ZAIRE FOR JET TRAINING IN PAST

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AND OTHER PILOTS ARE CURRENTLY WINDING UP A TRAINING PROGRAM IN BRAZIL. LIBYANS REPORTEDLY SEEKING TO TRAIN HUNDRED OR SO TOGOLESE IN LIBYA TO BECOME PART OF A REVOLUTIONARY STRIKE FORCE (TOGOLESE VERY WARY THIS EFFORT BUT KHADDAFI OFFERING TO BUY TOGO THREE FRENCH ALPHA JETS, WHICH PRESIDENT EYADEMA APPARENTLY FINDING DIFFICULT TO TURN DOWN.)

B. PROPOSED U.S. TRAINING

PROPOSED U.S. TRAINING WOULD NOT DUPLICATE THAT PROVIDED BY OTHER COUNTRIES SINCE IT IS LOGISTIC AND MANAGEMENT ORIENTED. TO BEST EMBASSY'S KNOWLEDGE SUCH TRAINING IS NOT OFFERED BY OTHER COUNTRIES AND WE BELIEVE IT WOULD LEAD TO A MEASURABLE IMPROVEMENT IN TOGOLESE MILITARY CAPABILITY.

5. TOGOLESE PURCHASES OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT

A. FRANCE

FRANCE HAS TRADITIONALLY PROVIDED ALMOST ALL TOGOLESE MILITARY EQUIPMENT. HOWEVER, TOGOLESE SMALL-ARMS INVENTORY NOW INCLUDES UZZI'S FN'S AND AK-47'S. TOGOLESE HAVE RECENTLY PURCHASED FIVE FRENCH FOUGA MAGISTER JETS AND THREE BRAZILIAN-MANUFACTURED MACCHI AIRCRAFT. TOGOLESE ALSO PURCHASING THREE FRENCH ALPHA JETS (AS NOTED LIBYANS OFFERING TO BUY GOT THREE MORE OF THESE AIRCRAFT.) TOGO HAS ALSO BOUGHT TWO FRENCH COASTAL PATROL BOATS. GERMAN UNIMOG ARMORED CARS HAVE BEEN BOUGHT ADDITIONALLY. THESE PURCHASES HAVE PUT CONSIDERABLE STRAIN ON TOGOLESE ECONOMY WHICH WOULD NOT PERMIT PURCHASE U.S. TRAINING. (EMBASSY HAS PREPARED AIRGRAM ON BUDGET (A-19, 6/16/77); AIRGRAM ON DEBT-SERVICING CAPABILITY BEING PREPARED AND WILL BE CALLED TO ATTENTION OF ADDRESSEES WHEN DESPATCHED. MEANWHILE THE BASIC FIGURES ARE THE FOLLOWING: 1975 GNP-611 MILLION; EXTERNAL DEBT - \$363 MILLION; DEBT SERVICE - APPROXIMATELY

20-25 PERCENT AND GROWING.)

6. SPECIAL ASPECTS OF U.S.-TOGOLESE RELATIONSHIPS WHICH MERIT MODEST U.S. INVESTMENT IN TRAINING AND MILITARY TRAVEL:

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PRESIDENT EYADEMA CAME TO POWER IN 1967 AT A TIME WHEN THE U.S. WAS PREOCCUPIED WITH THE INDOCHINA WAR. RELATIONS FOR SOME YEARS WERE CONDITIONED BY THIS FACT AND THE COLLATERAL FACT OF NEGATIVELY-PERCEIVED U.S. POLICIES TOWARD SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE RESULT WAS THAT TOGO MOVED INTO A MORE OR LESS THIRD WORLD POSITION IN WHICH IT WAS IN OPPOSITION TO MANY U.S. POLICIES AND SIDED WITH RADICAL STATES AGAINST THE U.S. IN INTERNATIONAL FORA. THIS ATTITUDE OF SUSPICION ALSO INFLUENCED THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT WHERE AT ONE POINT IN 1975 THE U.S. WAS FALSELY RUMORED TO BE PLOTTING A COUP AGAINST EYADEMA.

THE U.S. OF COURSE HAS TRADITIONALLY PERCEIVED LITTLE DIRECT INTEREST IN TOGO. TOTAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO TOGO IN 1975 WAS \$38.6 MILLION; U.S. ASSISTANCE WAS \$1.3 MILLION, MAINLY PL 480. TOGO HAS NEVER HAD U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE IN ANY FORM.

THUS, THERE HAVE BEEN FEW U.S. RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO INFLUENCE TOGOLESE DECISION-MAKING DURING THE TEN YEARS OF EYADEMA'S RULE AND THE GROWTH OF HIS INFLUENCE. INDEED, HIS PERCEPTION HAS BEEN THAT U.S. POLICY WAS INDIFFERENT TO THE EFFORT HE AND OTHER LEADERS OF SMALL STATES HAVE SOUGHT TO MAKE TO BRING STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT TO THE WEST AFRICAN REGION. EYADEMA HAS VIEWED RECENT SOVIET GAINS IN AFRICA WITH EXASPERATION AND MARKED CONCERN; HE BELIEVES THE U.S. SHOULD BE DOING MORE TO FRUSTRATE SOVIET DESIGNS BY

SUPPORTING ANTI-COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS.

THE ADVENT OF THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS HAD A POSITIVE IMPACT ON EYADEMA'S THINKING. IN ADDITION TO REACTING POSITIVELY TO NEW U.S. EMPHASIS ON AFRICA, EYADEMA HAS ALSO REACTED POSITIVELY TO REINFORCED U.S. HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES. THE TOGOLESE PRESIDENT HAS MADE A DELIBERATE EFFORT TO RELEASE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS FROM DETENTION AND HE HAS ACTED CAREFULLY TO CONVEY THE IMPRESSION THAT HE IS RESPECTING HUMAN
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RIGHTS AS HE DEALS WITH POLITICAL OPPOSITION. ACCORDINGLY, A U.S. OFFER OF A SMALL TRAINING PROGRAM WHOSE PRIMARY PURPOSES WOULD BE BOTH PROVISION OF IMPROVED TECHNICAL CAPABILITY AND IMPROVEMENT OF POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS WOULD ALSO BE AN EFFECTIVE SIGNAL OF U.S. SUPPORT OF IMPROVED TOGOLESE HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE.

7. HUMAN RIGHTS

IN DISCUSSING THE IMET PROGRAM WITH PRESIDENT EYADEMA, AMBASSADOR WILL POINT OUT THE CONSEQUENCES THIS WILL HAVE WITH RESPECT TO CPD HUMAN RIGHTS OBSERVANCE REPORTS. LOME 252 WAS DESIGNED TO FIT DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND SECURITY ASSISTANCE NEEDS. DEPARTMENT HAS BEEN KEPT INFORMED OF HUMAN RIGHTS DEVELOPMENTS SUBSEQUENT TO DESPATCH THAT REPORT. UPDATE SHOWING APPARENT IMPROVEMENT IN OBSERVANCE ARTICLES 3, 5, 7, AND 9 OF UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS WILL BE PREPARED IN TIMELY FASHION FOR CPD PURPOSES.
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